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ABSTRACT

A study of identity development was carried out in Bristol, England, with Asian, West Indian, and indigenous British adolescents. Ethnic and gender differences in patterns of identification conflict with others were found between minority group boys and girls. Both sexes from both minority groups, however, had substantial identification conflicts with representatives of their own ethnicity, distinguishing them from indigenous adolescents. This common feature of the two minority groups may be explained in terms of dual socialization, that is, socialization within both their parental culture and British culture. Prejudice against West Indians and Asians was demonstrated in the indigenous adolescents, but the generally held view that discrimination against low status groups results in their members' self-devaluation was not supported. Similarly, the argument that sex discrimination results in self devaluation was not supported. Finally, the general argument that similar processes of identity development would be found in girls experiencing sex discrimination did not gain support. The processes of sexual identity and ethnic identity development were shown to be different. It is believed that ethnic and gender differences displayed in overall patterns of identification conflicts are related to the differential roles played by parents, teachers, and peers as positive reference models in the individual's self concept development. (Author/GC)

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SOCIALIZATION AND ETHNIC IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT[1]

by

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Processes of socialization and social influence in individuals occur within their own particular historical and social context. Research which aims to understand these processes needs theoretical concepts which acknowledge the contemporary stance of the actors. They should be ones that facilitate the use of empirical methods to determine the relationships that actors have with their current social context, particularly, with their significant others. Conceptualizations which are ahistorical, and without a concern for the contemporary and historically predicated value systems of the actors, have a limited relevance only to the actors' everyday reality. For example, some experimentally based approaches to the study of social influence and social comparison tend to make assumptions about status differentials between people (ie. the subjects in the experiments). It is argued here that social comparisons are not so much dependent on abstract status differentials between one person or group and another, but on how desirable the one person perceives the values of the other. The judgement of desirability is based in turn on the perceiver's values and his historical experience of the other.

Whilst there are many theoretical issues which should be properly considered in the light of these opening remarks, limited time precludes discussion of them here. Instead, I will present empirical evidence that indicates the importance of adopting an approach anchored in the value systems of the actors for understanding their social reality. These actors might be members of another ethnic or religious group, the opposite sex, an authority group, or a particular class. In practice, the empirical findings tend to challenge assumptions that might otherwise be made about the social realities of particular groups of people.

The historical facts of widespread migration and establishment of significant minority ethnic communities within nation states draw attention to two major socio-psychological factors in the socialization of the young in such circumstances. One is the nature of the power relationship between the indigenous population and the minority groups. The other is the plurality of cultural values, or the differences between ethnically distinct communities in their folklores and customs. The evidence I will present concerns adolescent self-concept development when the power relationship involves exploitation of and discrimination against minority groups, and where the plurality of cultural values is represented chiefly by West Indian, and to a lesser extent by Asian, communities within the city of Bristol in England.

Two concepts concerning identity development are prevalent in the literature on discrimination and on the clash of cultural values. They are identity conflict and culture conflict. The former more usually refers to the proposition that the discriminated internalize the derogatory images of themselves projected by the discriminators, whilst the latter to the one that the offspring of ethnic minorities are "between cultures" and internalize conflicts between the values of the one culture and those of the other (Weinreich, forthcoming A). Both propositions point to the existence of social problems within the ethnic minority groups. We will question whether these are valid inferences.

Another common theme in contemporary literature on the socialization of girls is that discrimination on the grounds of sex is essentially the same phenomenon as discrimination on the grounds of race or

ethnicity, and that it too leads to a devalued self-image and identity conflict in women (Tavris & Offir, 1977; Weinreich, 1976). The validity of this proposition will also be questioned.

The term "identity conflict" is vague and ambiguous and, later in this paper, it will be replaced by a more explicitly defined concept concerning a person's conflict in identification with another. At this point, however, it is sufficient to note that the "discrimination/self-devaluation" proposition consists of a number of linked arguments in a sequence as follows:

1. with the continued exploitation of the oppressed by the powerful, the latter develop a system of values and perceptions of the respective groups which justifies the exploitation : discrimination requires an implicit ideology to sustain it;

2. this implicit ideology stereotypes the subordinate group as being inferior, as being unworthy to share in the lifework of their superiors and to receive their kinds of rewards : thus
   (i) blacks are deemed to be ill-educated, lacking in motivation, seeking instant gratification and living off public benefits; and
   (ii) women are viewed as being less capable of acquiring the skills and knowledge of the male worlds of commerce, industry and politics;

3. members of the exploited groups adopt these stereotypes and learn to view their own group as being inferior;

4. being members of the "inferior group" they apply the same devalued views to themselves individually and form negative self-images.

The evidence from a study of adolescents from Bristol, England, demonstrates that this sequence of arguments breaks down both for ethnicity and sex.

All the measures used in the study are individually based on each person's own value system and are subject to standardization procedures which make them comparable across individuals. Differences in values according to ethnicity and gender are thereby automatically taken into account, whilst retaining strict comparability from individual to individual in the measures elicited from the respondents (details of the measures are given in Weinreich, 1975).

Discrimination on grounds of both race and sex have been widely documented in Britain - (P.E.P. 1967; Deakin, 1970; Coussins, 1976). In the Bristol sample of 15-16 year old school leavers, indigenous white boys and girls are shown to hold generally devalued images of West Indians and Asians (Table 1). For race therefore the first two linked arguments of the "discrimination/self-devaluation" proposition gain support. However, there is no evidence that West Indian and Asian adolescents in this sample form devalued images of their own ethnic groups. Their evaluations of their own groups are not significantly lower than indigenous adolescents' evaluation of their own kind (Table 2). That is, the third linked argument receives no support. Finally, concerning the fourth argument, there is no evidence that the West Indian and Asian adolescents devalue themselves individually (Table 3). In the case of discrimination on grounds of ethnicity, the "discrimination/self-devaluation" proposition is not supported by the evidence.

For gender, the sequence of arguments breaks down at different points. Irrespective of ethnicity, it is girls rather than boys who possess the lower evaluation of the opposite sex (Table 2B). This refutes the second argument, that the male "exploiters" form derogatory images of the "oppressed" females. Evidence in relation to the third argument indicates an apparent confirmation in that, irrespective of ethnicity, girls do

have a devalued view of other girls compared with the boys' view of their own sex (Table 2A). However, this cannot be a direct consequence of their devaluation by boys, as evidence from the sample shows that boys do not devalue girls. Finally, the girls' devaluation of their own sex is not applied to themselves individually as diminished self-evaluations, hence the fourth argument is not substantiated (Table 3). The general "discrimination/self-devaluation" proposition is refuted for gender as well as ethnic identity development. In neither case does discrimination generally result in self-rejection. (Individual cases in which elements of self-rejection are related to discrimination can be identified. However, such instances give added support to the negative conclusion as a generalization, because in these cases other important considerations are operative, eg. Weinreich, forthcoming B).

But the data give rise to another important observation. Ethnicity and gender contribute to self-concept developments in different ways. The sequence of linked arguments for discrimination against subordinate ethnic groups on the one hand and against the subordinate sex on the other break down at different places. Evidently, the experience of being a member of an ethnic minority is different in kind from that of being female. A specific characteristic of the girls' orientation to the social world that has no counterpart in the ethnically related contributions to self-concept formation, is that their devaluation of their own sex is accompanied by their even greater devaluation of the opposite sex and by their devaluation of adults (Table 2C). This finding holds for all three ethnic groups. Girls in this sample generally form less positive views of large segments of their social world than do boys : they appear to have a more realistic, or cynical, orientation than the boys.

It will now be appreciated that strong assumptions have been made in previous literature, (eg. Clark & Clark, 1947; Kardiner and Ovessey, 1951; Grier and Cobbs, 1968), about the relationship between discrimination and identity conflict and that it is no longer apparent what precisely identity conflict means. However, the fact that there are considerable differences between the values held by different ethnic groups does suggest that those children who grow up experiencing two quite distinct cultures are likely to internalize values from both. This means that their identifications will not be confined solely to their ethnic groups of origin and that conflicts in their identifications are to be expected. The fundamental point of this analysis is that their identifications are with people, not values in abstraction, though they may be with idealized conceptions of people derived from literature and the mass media. In other words, the meaning of identity conflict is to be found in the person's conflicts in identifications with others, for example, with his mother and father, or with adults, boys and girls from his own group or another ethnic group or with any significant others of his experience.

In order to carry this analysis to an empirical test it is necessary to assess a person's conflict in identification with another. An essential feature of the assessment should be that it remains valid for use with people who hold widely differing value systems arising, for example, from membership of different ethnic groups. A procedure which fulfils these requirements has been developed (Weinreich, 1975). It is based on an explicit definition of the term identification conflict, namely, that a person's conflict in identification with another is a function of the extents of his current identification with the other and his simultaneous wish to dissociate from certain characteristics of the other.

As an illustration of what this definition means in practice, consider an adolescent Asian girl who strongly identifies with the Asian culture's emphasis on duty and obligations, but who, having adopted Western concepts of love, dissociates from the Asian institution of arranged marriage. She realizes that her parents are committed to orthodox Asian values and identifies with their shared commitments to duty and obligations, but she also wishes to dissociate from their belief in arranged marriages. Her identifications with her mother and father are therefore conflicted.

Applying this mode of analysis to the data from the Bristol sample, it is found that ethnicity is, as expected, an important feature of self-concept development in adolescent boys and girls from the two ethnic minorities. In very nearly all cases of the West Indian and Asian adolescents, conflicts in identification with general representatives of their own ethnicity are salient, despite other differences between the ethnic groups (Table 4).

This common feature of the salience of identification conflicts with respect to their own ethnicity in ethnic minority adolescents can be explained as the outcome of a process of dual socialization. First, children form identifications within their parent cultural group during early primary socialization, then become increasingly alerted to the indigenous culture through secondary socialization by way of schooling and the mass media. Over a period of time they form part identifications with, and adopt some of the values of, indigenous people encountered at school and elsewhere. These will conflict to varying degrees with some of their earlier identifications and hence give rise to conflicts in identification with people from their own ethnic group.

To this extent, "identity conflict" is shown to be related to growing up "between cultures", but the empirical results qualify the culture or identity conflict view of self-concept development in two ways. First, these ethnically related conflicts in identification do not imply damaged self-images (Table 3). Second, the specific pattern of ethnic identification conflicts varies according to ethnicity and gender (Table 4). "Identity conflict" is therefore an imprecise term to use to describe the effects of discrimination or dual socialization on self-concept development, and, when it is used in these contexts, its negative connotations can be grossly misleading.

Differences have been observed in the contributions of ethnicity and gender to self-concept development both in terms of these adolescents' general evaluations of the social world and in terms of their patterns of identification conflicts with others. In order to account for these findings it is necessary to determine how those principally involved in the socialization of these adolescents feature in their self-concept development. In particular, we need to know the intensity of their involvement with their parents, siblings, teachers, peers, and others of the same and opposite sex, and from their own and other ethnic groups. We also need to know the extent to which such significant others are positive reference models.

The first pertinent set of results concern the extent to which the authority figures of parents and teachers are important to these adolescents and feature as positive role models for them. The most general finding is that their ego-involvement with teachers is substantially less than with their parents (Table 5B1), and that

teachers feature as less positive reference models than do their parents (Table 6B1). There is however a difference according to sex : adolescent boys' ego-involvement with authority figures is significantly greater than girls (Table 5B2). Ethnicity is an important factor in that, firstly, West Indian girls deviate markedly from other ethnic by sex categories. For them authority figures generally do not feature as positive reference models (Table 6A1). Secondly, Asian adolescents are more ego-involved in authority figures than the English and West Indian, and they perceive them more positively than the others (Tables 5B3 and 6B3). This is particularly the case for the Asian boys in the sample.

The place of adults, specified according to their ethnic group membership, in the adolescents' self-concepts is the subject of the next set of analyses. The minority group adolescents are more ego-involved in ethically categorized adults than are the indigenous adolescents, which is an indication of the greater salience ethnicity has for them (Table 7B1). Significant others from their own ethnic group may therefore play a more important part in their self-concepts than do, for example, teachers (Table 9). But the role of such adults for the two minority groups differs in that for the Asian adolescents they feature more favourably than for the West Indian (Table 8B3). This is true whether the adults are from their own ethnic group or from the indigenous population.

For the indigenous boys and girls minority group adults have little part to play as positive reference models. Whilst, in general for adolescents from all three ethnic groups own-ethnic-group adults feature substantially more positively than other-group adults (Table 8B1), this is much more strongly the case for the indigenous boys and girls than for the West Indian and Asian (Table 8A1).

Girls do not differ from boys in their patterns of ego-involvement with ethnic group adults (Table 7). However, such adults feature as less positive reference models for girls than for boys, which is additional evidence that girls have a more realistic or cynical view of the social world (Table 8B2).

The position of these adolescents' siblings within their self-concepts shows a considerable uniformity. Ethnicity and gender are not factors affecting their ego-involvements with their most favoured siblings (Table 10). However, the English in the sample differ from the Asians and West Indians in that English girls are more positively oriented towards their siblings than English boys, whilst the reverse holds for West Indian and Asian boys and girls (Table 11A1). A similar constancy across ethnicity and gender holds for these adolescents' ego-involvements with their most favoured same sex friend, which are uniformly high, though for boys these peers act as slightly more positive reference models than for girls (Tables 12 and 13)

The sex of their most favoured friend is an important feature of these 15 and 16 year old adolescents. Friends of the same sex are referred to much more frequently than opposite sex friends (Table 14). This body of data indicates that the individual same sex friend, rather than girls as a group or boys as a group, is generally important as a highly valued reference model in these adolescents' self-concepts.

Turning now to peers designated in a more general sense as being from one or other ethnic group, the findings largely resemble those for ethnically categorized adults. Thus, the minority group adolescents are more highly ego-involved with ethnically categorized peers than are the indigenous adolescents (Table 15B1). Within this constraint, all groups are more

highly ego-involved with their own-ethnic-group peers than with others (Table 15B2). Own-ethnic-group peers also feature more positively than peers from other groups for all three ethnic groups, though the difference is much accentuated in the indigenous adolescents (Table 16B1 and 16A1). Again, whilst these boys and girls do not differ in their ego-involvement with ethnic group peers, the girls have a significantly less positive view of them than do the boys.

In summary, I wish to pick out the features of this analysis which help to explain why:

(a) the "discrimination/self-devaluation" proposition does not hold as a universal generalization;

(b) patterns of identification conflicts differ among ethnic minority adolescents; and

(c) the same formal agency of socialization, the school or education system, has differential success with the offspring of one ethnic minority compared with another (it has been found elsewhere that academic attainment of West Indian pupils is on average less than that of Asian, eg. Donnison & Eversley, 1974).

The "discrimination/self-devaluation" proposition applied to ethnic minorities assumes that the indigenous population form the significant others for minority group children. It also implies that minority groups hold a dominant position in the world-view of indigenous people. Neither of these assumptions holds for the Bristol sample. In the first place, despite their generally substantial ego-involvement with indigenous people, these ethnic minority adolescents are even more involved with their own people. The later presumably not only have a

considerable influence in their lives, but also provide them with positive support and encouragement. Secondly, though prejudiced against ethnic minorities, these indigenous adolescents are not highly ego-involved with them. With exceptions, the intensity of their involvement with ethnic minority adults, boys and girls is substantially less than that of the minority adolescents with them. If minority groups do not have such a dominant position in their world-view as has been generally supposed, it would follow that the impact of their prejudice on the self-concept development of minority adolescents may also have been exaggerated.

Discrimination against women does not appear to impinge forcibly on this sample of adolescent girls. Their lesser ego-involvement in authority figures compared with boys suggests that they develop their own views of the situation rather than accept those that the previous generation might wish to hand down. This argument, that these girls irrespective of ethnic background are to some extent more insulated from the views of the previous generation than the boys, is supported by other evidence already cited. Thus, given that the most favoured same sex friend emerges as an important referent for adolescent boys and girls of all three ethnic groups, the finding that parents of either sex play a less positive role for girls than for boys indicates a greater prominence given to the friend than the parent by the girls. Their most favoured siblings are similarly highly regarded. Beyond these individuals, however, girls view others (and this applies to other peers as well as adults) in a less positive light than do boys. In the girls a degree of scepticism towards the broader social world accompanies a robustness in self-evaluation : whatever the extent of sex discrimination and how it is

perceived, they do not devalue themselves in terms of their own value systems.

At an ethnically specific level, the empirical data establish that the Asian boys and girls in this Bristol sample have generally more respect for authority figures than do the English and West Indian. Their respect for adults, represented by their high ego-involvement and positive identification with them, transcends ethnic boundaries. The effect generalizes to their school teachers and other indigenous adults. It is a characteristic most strongly seen in their very positive orientation towards their parents, and explains their generally low level of identification conflicts with them.

The West Indian girls in the Bristol sample emerge as being anti-authority. Their less positive orientation towards their parents explains their relatively high levels of identification conflict with them. By contrast to the Asian adolescents they attribute many negative characteristics to their elders and, given that their most important positive reference models are individual friends of the same sex, it is apparent that they have a highly individualistic and anti-authority orientation to their social world. West Indian boys in Bristol differ from the girls in that indigenous whites feature rather more positively in their identifications than they do for girls. This, by no means wholely positive, orientation accounts for the salience of their previously noted identification conflicts with whites.

In respect to the issue of relatively poorer attainment at school by West Indian than Asian adolescents, the data suggest why this is likely to be the case in Bristol. The West Indian girls' individualistic and

anti-authority orientation will tend to diminish the influence of the school as a formal agency of socialization in ways intended by the education system, whatever other important effects their time in school might have (schools which fail to gain their respect compound their lack of respect for authority in general). Whilst the West Indian boys do not exhibit the strong anti-authority tendencies of the girls, their greater ego-involvement with their parents, adults and peers of their own ethnic group puts these people ahead of teachers as their significant others, thus diminishing the potential influence of the school. By contrast, the Asian adolescents are more favourably and more strongly ego-involved with teachers than with adults from their own ethnic group excepting their parents, implying a generally more positive disposition towards school (Table 17).

This paper has attempted to examine processes of socialization in a multi-ethnic context. It has reported on the consequences of dual socialization and has shown that these are more than some general notion of "identity conflict". In order to both understand why there are specific ethnic differences in patterns of identification conflicts and why the "discrimination/self-devaluation" proposition is generally invalid, it has been necessary to establish the particular historical configuration of these adolescents' orientations towards segments of their social world. It is evident that the tensions between their orientations and various socializing agencies, such as parents, teachers and adults in the community, differ according to ethnicity and gender. How they differ, and the manifestations of such differences, is an empirical question which can only be answered in relation to the specific historical context.

The study illustrates that, whilst generalizations about ethnic minorities in relation to the indigenous population may be made at one level, this is not possible at other levels. Thus, it may be argued theoretically, and empirical evidence adduced as is done here, that adolescents from ethnic minorities who experience dual socialization will develop conflicts in their identifications with members of their own ethnic group. But, at another level, no theory would predict that these West Indian girls would have a poor view of authority and be mostly oriented towards individual same sex friends, nor that these Asian boys and girls would have a high regard for authority that also extended to teachers. These important differences in orientations are based in very different cultural experiences, in which the salience of the various cultural values are determined by the specific historical developments of these ethnic communities.

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Footnote

[1]The material reported in this paper is drawn from a research programme within the SSRC Research Unit on Ethnic Relations at the University of Bristol. The research was led by P Weinreich and the other members of the team were A K Brah, M I Fuller, D Loudon and R Miles. The original design of the research derived from a conceptual scheme elaborated in P Weinreich's doctoral dissertation; the methodology was later developed in collaboration. The computer program used in this research to calculate indices of identity structure was devised by P Weinreich with the assistance of I Carr and A French.

Table 1 - Evaluation of minority ethnic groups by English adolescents

English adolescents' mean evaluations of adults, boys & girls of:

	a. Asian origin are less than English by:	b. W. Indian origin are less than English by:
Adults	0.54**	0.32**
Boys	0.39**	0.37**
Girls	0.42*	0.37**

These differences are between evaluations on a scale ranging from -1.00 to +1.00

** $p < 0.01$; * $p < 0.02$; related t test

Table 2 - Evaluation of own ethnic group by adolescent English and W. Indian boys and girls (scale -1.00 to +1.00)

A. OWN SEX PEERS

	English (N)	W. Indian (N)
Girls	0.40 (16)	0.33 (16)
Boys	0.53 (13)	0.44 (12)

Analysis of variance:

Ethnicity	F = 0.349; df: 1,53; ns
Sex	F = 5.100; df: 1,53; p < 0.05
Interaction	F = 0.092; df: 1,53; ns

B. OPPOSITE SEX PEERS

	English (N)	W. Indian (N)
Girls	0.27 (16)	0.17 (18)
Boys	0.49 (13)	0.43 (14)

Analysis of variance:

Ethnicity	F = 0.861; df: 1,58; ns
Sex	F = 11.249; df: 1,58; p < 0.01
Interaction	F = 0.021; df: 1,58; ns

C. ADULTS

	English (N)	W. Indian (N)
Girls	0.35 (14)	0.28 (17)
Boys	0.58 (12)	0.47 (13)

Analysis of variance:

Ethnicity	F = 1.017; df: 1,52; ns
Sex	F = 5.304; df: 1,52; p < 0.05
Interaction	F = 0.050; df: 1,52; ns

Table 3 - Self-esteem by ethnicity (Self-esteem: range -1.00 to +1.00)

Boys and girls combined[1]	(N) English	(N) West Indian and Asian
A. Including cases of "defensive high self-esteem"	(37) 0.375*	(45) 0.512*
		((32) 0.475 *West Indian* (((13) 0.605 *Asian*
B. Excluding cases of "defensive high self-esteem" [2]	(37) 0.375	(39) 0.470
		((28) 0.434 *West Indian* (((11) 0.563 *Asian*

* The difference between these means is significant at $p < 0.05$ (analysis of variance).

(1) Analysis of variance indicates no significant gender differences in self-esteem.

(2) Four West Indian and two Asian adolescents are identified as exhibiting "defensive high self-esteem".

Table 4 - Distribution of high identification conflicts by ethnicity and sex

% of such conflicts present (% present + % absent = 100%) in relation to:				
(N)	Parents	Own ethnic group	West Indian	Asian
(15) English boys	47	47	60	40
(22) English girls	32	55	59	45
(37) Together	38	51	60	43
(N)	Parents	Own ethnic group	English	West Indian
(7) Asian boys	14	100	57	43
(6) Asian girls	17	83	50	83
(13) Together	15^{L}	92^{HH}	54	61
(N)	Parents	Own ethnic group	English	Asian
(14) W Indian boys	21^{L}	79^{HH}	86^{HH}	29^{L}
(18) W Indian girls	55^{H}	95^{HH}	39^{L}	28^{L}
(32) Together	41	87	59	28

Chief characteristics which differentiate the groups at a statistically significant level (χ^2 test): HH = high presence; H = moderately high; L = low.
Reading across L v HH, $p < 0.001$; H v HH; $p < 0.01$.
Reading down (W. Indian boys and girls) L v HH; $p < 0.01$; L v H, $p = 0.055$

Table 5 - Adolescents' ego-involvement with authority figures by ethnicity and sex (Scale 0.00 to 5.00 max)

Analysis of variance				
A. Interactive effects:				
None				
B. Main effects				
	Ego-involvement with:			
B1 <u>Targets</u>	"Mum"	"Dad"	"Teachers"	F = 20.32; df:2,216; p < 0.01
All adolescents:	3.97	3.96	3.20*	
B2	"Authority Figures"			F = 4.64; df:1,216; p < 0.05
<u>Sex</u>:				
Boys:	3.87			
Girls:	3.62			
B3				F = 3.58; df:2,216; p < 0.05
<u>Ethnicity</u>:				
Asians:	4.05*			
W. Indians:	3.72			
English:	3.63			

Table 6 - Adolescents' idealistic identification with authority figures by ethnicity and sex (Scale 0.00 to 1.00 max)

Analysis of variance

A. Interaction effects:

Idealistic identification with:

A1 "Authority figures" F = 10.11; df:2,216; p < 0.01

Ethnicity x sex:

	Asian	English	W Indian
Boys:	0.86	0.74	0.79
Girls:	0.78	0.76	0.60*

B. Main Effects:

Idealistic identification with:

B1 Targets: "Mum" "Dad" "Teachers" F = 7.94; df:2,216; p < 0.01

All Adolescents:	0.77	0.76	0.68

B2 "Authority figures" F = 14.84; df:1,216; p < 0.01

Sex:

Boys:	0.78
Girls:	0.70

B3 F = 10.27; df:2,216; p < 0.01

Ethnicity:

Asians:	0.82*
W. Indians:	0.75
English:	0.68

Table 7 - Adolescents' ego-involvement with ethnic group adults by ethnicity and sex (Scale 0.00 to 5.00 max)

Analysis of variance		
A. Interaction effects:		
None		
B. Main effects:		
	Ego-involvement with:	
B1	own and other ethnic group adults	$F = 4.53$; df:2,129; $p < 0.05$
Ethnicity:		
Asians:	3.34	
W. Indians:	3.08	
English:	2.68*	

Table 8 - Adolescents' idealistic identification with ethnic group adults by ethnicity and sex (Scale 0.00 to 1.00 max)

Analysis of variance			
A. Interaction effects:			
	Idealistic identification with:		
A1	"own group"	"other group"	F = 4.63; df:2.129; p <0.05
Ethnicity x target:			
Asians:	0.78	0.67	
English:	0.76	0.47*	
W. Indians:	0.61	0.54	
B. Main effects:			
	Idealistic identification with:		
B1 Targets:	"own group"	"other group"	F = 22.65; df:1.129; p < 0.01
All adolescents:	0.70	0.54	
B2	"ethnic group adults"		F = 9.21; df:1,129; p < 0.01
Sex:			
Boys:	0.67		
Girls:	0.56		
B3			F = 3.88; df:2.129; p < 0.05
Ethnicity:			
Asian:	0.72*		
English:	0.61		
W. Indian:	0.58		

Table 9 - Comparison of adolescents' ego-involvement with teachers, and with whom own and other ethnic adults by ethnicity and sex (Scale 0.00 to 5.00 max)

	Ego-involvement with:		
	Teachers	"own group"	"other group" adults
Asians:	3.78*	3.38	3.31
W. Indians:	2.93	3.21*	2.95
English:	3.20*	2.94	2.45

* denotes the targets (teachers, own and other ethnic group adults) with whom adolescents from each ethnic group are most ego-involved.

Table 10 - Adolescents' ego-involvement with their most-favoured sibling (Scale 0.00 to 5.00 max)

Analysis of variance

A. Interaction effects:

None

B. Main effects:

None

All adolescents' ego-involvement with their most favoured sibling of own and opposite sex: 3.66

Table 11 - Adolescents' idealistic identification with their most-favoured sibling (Scale 0.00 to 1.00 max)

Analysis of variance

A. Interaction effects:

Idealistic identification with:

A1. most favoured sibling $F = 4.87$; df:2,123, $p < 0.01$

Ethnicity x sex:

	Asian	English	W Indian
Boys:	0.87*	0.68	0.78*
Girls:	0.73	0.80*	0.73

B. Main Effects:

None

Table 12 - Adolescents' ego-involvement with their most favoured same sex friend (Scale 0.00 to 5.00 max)

Analysis of variance

A. Interaction effects:

None

B. Main effects:

None

All adolescents' ego-involvement with their most favoured same sex friend: 3.72

Table 13: Adolescents' idealistic identification with their most favoured same sex friend (Scale 0.00 to 1.00 max)

Analysis of variance:

A. Interaction effects:

None

B. Main effects:

	Idealistic identification with:	
B1 Sex:	same sex friend	F = 4.42; df:1,74; p < 0.05
Boys:	0.89	
Girls:	0.84	

Table 14 - Frequency with which adolescents mention same and opposite sex friends

All adolescents (82)	Mention of friend of: same sex	opposite sex
Yes:	80	51
No:	2	31

$\chi^2 = 31.9$, $p < 0.01$

Table 15 - Adolescents' ego-involvement with ethnic group peers by ethnicity and sex (Scale 0.00 to 5.00 max)

Analysis of variance			
A. Interaction effects:			
None			
B. Main effects:			
	Ego-involvement with:		
B1	own and other group peers		F = 8.23; df:2,124; p < 0.01
Ethnicity:			
Asians:	3.29		
W. Indians:	3.12		
English:	2.60*		
B2	own ethnic group peers	other ethnic group peers	F = 3.55; df:1,124; p < 0.05
Target:			
All adolescents:	3.06	2.81	

Table 16 - Adolescents' idealistic identifications with ethnic group peers by ethnicity and sex (Scale 0.00 to 1.00 max)

Analysis of variance			
A. Interaction effects:			
	Idealistic identification with:		
A1	own group	other group	F = 4.25; df:2,124; p < 0.05
Ethnicity x Target:			
Asians:	0.71	0.59	
English:	0.72	0.46*	
W. Indians:	0.62	0.59	
B. Main effects:			
	Idealistic identification with:		
B1 Targets:	own group	other group	F = 17.18; df:1.124; p < 0.01
All adolescents:	0.68	0.55	
B2	"ethnic group" peers		F = 16.28; df:1.124; p < 0.01
Sex:			
Boys:	0.68		
Girls:	0.55		

Table 17 - Comparison of W. Indian and Asian adolescents' orientations towards authority figures and peers

A. Ego-involvement with:

		mum	dad	teachers	own group adults	English adults
W.Indian	boys:	4.17	4.19	3.37	3.43*	3.20
	girls:	3.97	3.99	2.57	3.03*	2.74
Asian	boys:	4.30	4.19	3.73*	3.47	3.22
	girls:	4.26	3.96	3.77*	3.25	3.41

		sibling	friend	own group peers	English peers
W.Indian	boys:	3.69	3.96	3.26	2.99
	girls:	4.00	3.92	3.34	2.88
Asian	boys:	3.97	3.83	3.42	3.41
	girls:	3.18	3.56	3.22	3.57

* denotes higher ego-involvement with teachers or own group adults

B. Idealistic identification with:

		mum	dad	teachers	own group adults	English adults
W.Indian	boys:	0.80	0.83	0.72	0.69	0.63
	girls:	0.68*	0.61*	0.48**	0.55	0.47**
Asian	boys:	0.87	0.86	0.83	0.87	0.76
	girls:	0.84	0.78	0.72	0.65	0.56

		sibling	friend	own group peers	English peers
W.Indian	boys:	0.79	0.90	0.70	0.67
	girls:	0.83	0.83	0.57	0.53**
Asian	boys:	0.89	0.88	0.86	0.73
	girls:	0.72	0.84	0.61	0.46

* denotes W.Indian girls' low idealistic identification with parents.
** denotes W.Indian girls' low positive orientation towards the English compared with W.Indian boys'.